

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 13601 01 OF 02 280257Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
AID-05 COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02
OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-07 CEA-01 /101 W
-----113430 280329Z /14
R 280245Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9944

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TOKYO 13601

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ETRD, JA
SUBJECT: JAPANESE UNDERTAKINGS AT BONN

REF: (A) STATE 185328, (B) STATE 185785

1. I APPRECIATE THE THOROUGH RUN-DOWN ON WHAT TOOK PLACE AT BONN REGARDING FUKUDA'S UNDERTAKINGS ON GROWTH, AID, EXPORT RESTRAINTS, AND THE MTNS. WE WILL BE WATCHING CAREFULLY AND REPORTING ON THE GOJ FOLLOW-THROUGH ON ITS STATEMENTS AT BONN. I WILL ALSO FIND THE OPPORTUNITY TO LET THE PRIME MINISTER KNOW OF OUR CONTINUING INTEREST.

2. THOSE IN PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA'S OWN PARTY AND OTHERS OPPOSING HIS RE-ELECTION AS LDP PRESIDENT WERE HOPING HE WOULD FALL FLAT ON HIS FACE IN BONN. HE DID NOT DO SO. IN FACT, THE GENERAL FEELING HERE IS THAT FUKUDA DID QUITE WELL IN EUROPE AND COMPORTED HIMSELF LIKE A WORLD STATESMAN. WITH A TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST IN SEPTEMBER NOW IN THE OFFING, HE CONTINUES TO BURNISH HIS FOREIGN POLICY IMAGE. NOW EVERYONE HERE IS WATCHING HIM TO SEE HOW HE COMES OUT ON THE PROGRAMS AND COMMITMENTS HE OUTLINED IN BONN. HIS DOMESTIC OPPONENTS ARE NOW LOOKING FOR SOME OTHER DEVICE TO WEAKEN HIM POLITICALLY; SUSTAINED PUBLIC
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 13601 01 OF 02 280257Z

CRITICISM OVERSEAS OF HIS ALLEGED FAILURE TO MEET CERTAIN ECONOMIC GOALS WOULD GIVE THEM THEIR WEAPON. HE IS THEREFORE ACUTELY AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF MEETING HIS GOALS; NOT ONLY HIS INTERNATIONAL CREDIBILITY BUT HIS DOMESTIC POLITICAL FUTURE DEPENDS ON IT.

3. AS FUKUDA GOT BACK INTO THE SWING OF THINGS HERE

AFTER HIS VISITS IN PARIS, BONN AND BRUSSELS, HE WAS INEVITABLY THROWN INTO DOMESTIC POLITICS AND THE ALL CONSUMING ISSUE IN THAT FIELD IS WHETHER HE WILL CALL A GENERAL ELECTION BEFORE THE LDP ELECTION IN DECEMBER.

4. REGARDING HIS GROWTH TARGET, I ADVISE AGAINST OUR TELLING THE PRIME MINISTER HOW HARD HE SHOULD BE PRESSING ON THE ACCELERATOR. THE FINE TUNING IS PROPERLY UP TO HIM. ADDRESSEES WILL RECALL THAT DURING THE RIVERS MISSION WHEN WE SUGGESTED TO THE JAPANESE THAT THEY ADOPT AN EIGHT PERCENT GROWTH TARGET, FUKUDA HIMSELF TOLD US IN SO MANY WORDS THAT WE WERE INJECTING OURSELVES TOO DEEPLY IN JAPANESE DOMESTIC POLITICAL DECISIONS. THE CURRENT BUDGET PROCESS IS EVEN MORE SENSITIVE THAN USUAL. AT THIS POINT, THE JAPANESE LEADERSHIP ARE ALMOST CERTAIN TO DECIDE TO CONVENE AN EXTRAORDINARY DIET SESSION AND TO ENACT A SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET. HOWEVER, FUKUDA'S DECISION ON WHEN AND HOW TO CALL THE DIET INTO SESSION IS CLOSELY LINKED IN MANY MINDS TO HIS RACE AGAINST OHIRA FOR THE LDP PRESIDENCY. WE MUST THEREFORE TAKE GREAT PAINS NOT TO SAY OR DO ANYTHING WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED HERE AS INDIRECT INTERVENTION IN THIS CONTEST. (THE LOCAL LOGIC IS THAT FUKUDA NEEDS TO CALL THE DIET INTO EXTRAORDINARY SESSION IN ORDER TO PROVIDE HIMSELF WITH THE OPPORTUNITY, AFTER SECURING ENACTMENT OF A SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET, OF DISSOLV-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 13601 01 OF 02 280257Z

ING IT, AND CALLING A GENERAL ELECTION. IF AN ELECTION IS HELD, IT IS ASSUMED THE LDP WILL EMERGE VICTORIOUS AND A TRIUMPHANT FUKUDA WOULD BE UNBEATABLE IN SUBSEQUENT LDP PRESIDENTIAL ELECTRON.)

5. WITH THE PRIME MINISTER SO CLEARLY AND PUBLICLY ON THE LINE WITH HIS GROWTH TARGET, I FEEL THAT WE CAN ASSUME HE WILL TAKE WHATEVER MEASURES HE THINKS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE IT. HIS STATEMENTS MADE FREELY AND OPENLY AT THE BONN SUMMIT (AND REPEATED HERE TIME AND AGAIN SINCE HIS RETURN) PLACE HEAVY PRESSURE ON HIM TO MAKE HIS GROWTH TARGET, ESPECIALLY WITH THE LDP PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION COMING UP. BEING A CAUTIOUS MAN, HE MAY EVEN OPT TO GO A LITTLE FURTHER IN THE WAY OF EXPANSION THAN HE REALLY FEELS NECESSARY.

6. IN SUM, I THINK WE SHOULD KEEP TO THE LINE UNDER SECRETARY COOPER TOOK SO SENSIBLY WITH THE BRITISH IN LATE MAY IN RESPONDING TO THEIR SUGGESTIONS WE PUSH THE JAPANESE FOR ONE PERCENT OF GNP OF ADDITIONAL STIMULATION (LONDON 08281). TO PARAPHRASE HIM: THE JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER IS AS COMMITTED TO GROWTH AS HE CAN BE; AND IN THE CIR-

CUMSTANCES, THE RIGHT STRATEGY IS TO ACCEPT THESE COMMITMENTS AND ASSUME THAT THE NECESSARY STEPS WILL BE TAKEN. WE SHOULD OF COURSE SAY WE ASSUME NECESSARY MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN; AND LEAVE IT.
CONFIDENTIAL

7. ON AID, WE WILL MAKE INQUIRIES ABOUT HOW JAPANESE PLAN TO CALCULATE THE BASE FOR THEIR AID DOUBLING PLAN BUT AGAIN WE THINK WE SHOULD AVOID APPEARANCE OF DETAILED PUBLIC MONITORING OF IMPLEMENTATION. THE PRESIDENT HAS SEVERAL TIMES GONE ON RECORD WITH EXPRESSIONS OF APPRECIATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 13601 02 OF 02 280258Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
AID-05 COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02
OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-07 CEA-01 /101 W
-----113462 280330Z /14

R 280245Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9945

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TOKYO 13601

TION OF THE JAPANESE COMMITMENTS MADE AT BONN. IT WOULD BE UNSEEMLY FOR US TO APPEAR TO BE LESS TRUSTING OR OVER DETAILS. TO DO SO WOULD ENGENDER RESENTMENT AND BAD FEELING WHICH WE CAN ILL AFFORD.

8. MY JULY 27 CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SONODA REINFORCES MY VIEWS SET OUT ABOVE REGARDING THE FIRMNESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S DETERMINATION TO DELIVER ON HIS BONN COMMITMENTS.

9. MY STAFF'S DETAILED COMMENTS ON GROWTH AND AID CALCULATIONS FOLLOW IN SEPTEL. MANSFIELD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, FOREIGN COMMITMENTS, POLITICAL LEADERS, PUBLIC ATTITUDES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978TOKYO13601
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780309-0355
Format: TEL
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t1978077/aaaaafud.tel
Line Count: 163
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 554b0477-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 185328, 78 STATE 185785
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2037716
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: JAPANESE UNDERTAKINGS AT BONN
TAGS: ETRD, JA, GE, (FUKUDA, TAKEO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/554b0477-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014